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431 In contrast to the enthusiasm invested in the preparations for the party, there was very
521 little emotional display at the meal itself, and several signs were observed of people being ill at ease. Thus it was necessary for Louis Mann repeatedly to urge people to go into the house and eat. Except among some old men, there was little sign of gaiety or festivity. As each man filed into the building he removed his hat and silently took his place. Conversation during the meal was slight.

431 Plans to revive the old fashioned potlatch dance were not fulfilled. A number of older
535 people were finally persuaded to line up and execute a few movements, but this behavior
178 was not spontaneous and the embarrassed laughter of the younger folks apparently disconcerted the dancers.

431 After having eaten, the guests gathered outside the house where two fires were built
416 against the chill of the evening. Five gallons of coffee were heating alongside one fire. Louis Mann several times distributed cigars and cigarettes around the two circles of guests as well as oranges to the children, who were enjoying a riotous time. After the dishes had been washed by the women of the Wolf sib, the guests reentered the house to retrieve their cups, plates, and tableware. Considerable confusion resulted in this distribution and many people were unable to find their own objects. Even Louis Mann lost several of his own utensils, all of which suggests that some people, who had not come with tableware, went home with utensils not belonging to them.

On the day following the potlatch meal, a number of Crow people returned to Louis' house where his wife and her sisters distributed packages of food, tins of jam that had never been touched, fruit, and cake left over from the party.

The second potlatch on July 13 was designed as a return party by the Crow moiety. Louis placed himself in charge of the preparations and was assisted by his father-in-law. The cooking and serving were undertaken by Dorothy Flower, her cousin, and the ethnographer, who was conventionally designated as a Crow. The food was cooked in the residence of a white trader and transported to the potlatch in Louis Mann's boat. In Louis' house it was kept warm on the stove. The potlatch this time began at one o'clock in the afternoon and was completed by six o'clock. Behavior held to the same emotional tenor that was described for the first party except that considerable amusement was furnished by the several white trappers who attended while intoxicated but who caused no trouble. No attempt was made to introduce dancing, although a social dance in Laird Tom's house was announced as a part of the festival and took place later in the evening.

533 Music. The only musical instruments played by the Kaska are the violin and guitar.
534 Many men are accomplished "fiddlers," while most boys and girls can play accompaniments
177 on the guitar. All musical activity is patiently self-taught and is motivated by the individual's personal desire to learn. A new tune is generally picked up by listening to a Tahltan Indian visitor play it. The Tahltan, in turn, learn new melodies by listening to the recorded words and music. Such double, and sometimes triple, transmission by ear results in a melody often being considerably altered from its original form. The most popular tunes include: "I Know What It Means to be Lonely," "Take Me Back to Tulsa," "My Dixie Darling," "Wabash Cannonball," "Red River Valley," and "You Are My Sunshine." These are not only played at dances but are often sung or whistled around town and camp. Local Tahltan

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youths have improvised words to "Wabash Cannonball" which contain the refrain "Yukon cannonball." The prevailing theme of most of these songs is nostalgia, expressed as a longing for a loved and remembered place or an idealized woman. When played by the Indians, all of these melodies are transposed to a minor key, which further accentuates the nostalgic quality of the words and music. An undercurrent of gaiety and vivaciousness is introduced by the four-fourths time in which the tune is rendered. A number of people also own portable phonographs (locally called "gramophones") on which a variety of music, ranging from reels to ballet, is played.

Young men sometimes improvise short songs around commonplace activities. These are also sung in a minor key. Thaa-Nitla, while preparing to go hunting, sang of how he was going to get a moose. Song composition becomes freer when young men are intoxicated. Drunk in Old Man's camp one night, Peter Tom strummed his guitar and improvised a song around an incident that had occurred earlier that day. The words went:

> I spit blood this morning
> I don't want to die.
> Ole-o-lady o . . . [yodling].

Dancing. One of the most popular recreational features are the dances marking summer evenings in Lower Post. Early in the summer, with many young people in town, such dances are held almost nightly. They are attended principally by young people, married or single, and by one or two white men. When the American soldiers were in the Kaska area, a number showed up at these dances until the Army declared Lower Post out of bounds. The music is furnished by a violinist and one or two guitarists. Dances begin around midnight, when it is starting to get dark, and may continue to three or four o'clock in the morning. Later in the summer, as the nights get longer, dances start earlier. When a group of people want to dance they first ask the recognized musicians to play. The players receive no remuneration for their entertainment, although soldiers and white men sometimes collect a purse for them. The next task is to find a place to dance. River Joe's home, an unfinished trading store, and a deserted bunkhouse belonging to one of the trading companies were all well regarded as dance houses in 1944-45. Most of the time such accommodations are made available without charge; several times, however, River Joe sought to collect money from visitors attending dances in his house. He defended his behavior by speaking of the public dance hall at Trutle Lake to which admission is charged. Few people paid the requested fifty cents.

After a dance has been announced people congregate outside the building, while the players take their places at the back of the house near a lamp or candle. Several tunes go unheeded before sufficient dancers venture inside the house or before people feel relaxed enough to go on the floor. Boys who have been drinking get the dancing underway more quickly, the availability of liquor, beer, or wine always making a more spontaneous and lively party. Within the dance house, the sexes line up along opposite walls of the building. When a man wishes to select a partner, he crosses the room and stops before the girl of his choice. She rises and, looking away from her partner, begins to dance with him. A girl continues to avert her face throughout the dance. The man holds his partner lightly and

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

883 by performing them. Around puberty the boy's education begins as an independent trap-
[572] per and hunter. Unlike the earlier trips with his father, this is more serious work. If he is acting as the *protégé* of an older man, his winters are occupied in hauling and cutting large supplies of winter wood, hunting rabbits and chicken for daily food, and guiding the toboggan. If the youngster shows himself willing and eager to do and learn, the relationship between the partners is warm and comfortable. If, however, the youth shows a tendency to lie in bed on cold mornings and is slow in executing his expected tasks, his life is plagued and made miserable. Father, uncle, and brothers lecture to him about his laziness and may even plant practical jokes on him. Thus late one morning, while Donald Sam was sitting up in his sleeping place sipping coffee and eating a late breakfast, Old Man planted a thin stick behind the youth's back. When Donald lay down again after his repeat the stick snapped, but not before it had sharply jabbed into his back. If the boy is afraid of the bush (in other words, if he has not unlearned the socially patterned attitudes of childhood), he is "talked to" and cajoled. From the life history material collected, it is apparent that adolescents often have to "unlearn" fear of the forest when they begin to travel alone, but this seems to have been successfully accomplished in most men and even in many women.

For their activities adolescents receive more praise than they have hitherto been accustomed to. A girl's sewing is pointed to with pride by a mother or father. A girl who can shoot rabbits, chicken, and porcupine is favored and may be called "my little boy." A boy who begins to hunt is praised less lavishly for small game (although his bag is always welcome), but his first moose or caribou marks an occasion of considerable excitement. By his ability, diligence, and persistence as a hunter and trapper a youth creates his reputation in the community just as a girl develops her prestige through domestic skills. These attributes prepare the adolescent's way to marriage.

Considered from an overall point of view, adolescent activities range from work to play. They include hunting and fishing trips, bicycle riding, dressmaking, swimming, and horseback riding. At this age the boy's teasing of girls assumes a sexual quality. The adolescents, as has already been described, often show a considerable fondness for younger children but also spend long periods in association with adults. Musical instruments have
[633] been toyed with since a child was nine or ten; adolescence, however, is the time when serious efforts are made to master the violin and guitar. Now, too, boys and girls make their
[273] first shy appearances on the dance floor. They also begin to drink. At first this drinking is casual, representing the acceptance of adults' hospitality, but by sixteen or seventeen, most
[839] boys demonstrate a keen appreciation of alcoholic release. Masturbation, although regarded as highly shameful, is reported to be quite common for both sexes between thirteen and sixteen years of age but disappears once sexual intercourse is initiated. In summer, with the season's opportunities for social interaction, adolescence becomes a time of carefree holiday. Responsibilities and duties are largely forgotten as the bush is forsaken; life revolves around dancing, music, gambling, drinking, and sexual relations.

883 An important behavior which makes its appearance in the later years of childhood and
572 continues through adolescence to marriage is the formation of intersexual friendships. Just as one seldom sees an unmarried boy and girl walking or talking together, so rarely is an adolescent seen abroad without a friend or companion of the same sex. Boys, having greater

1: Honigmann E-5 (1963-1965) 1965 MD12 Nahane MD12

...e some with extreme reluctance and then usually with the intention of leaving shortly in view. The criticism of any lack of generosity, however, is a dependency motivated behavior, based on the frustration of this dominant motivation. Excessive generosity, when it appears in a very few Kaska, is probably a reaction formation based on demanding. Just as exception equals the incorporation of love, so giving represents a means of earning love. In psychoanalytical parlance, the desire to incorporate is replaced by the desire to be passively incorporated. The emotion invested in the potlatch is also partly derived from the fact that the central feature of this festival is the giving away of symbolically precious food. Partaking for the hosts is a public demonstration of the cultural ideal of generosity and in turn gratifies the guests' unconscious passive receptive needs.

Emotional dependence is one of the outstanding features of the marriage relationship. This is revealed in the fact that many men are reluctant to separate themselves from their wives, in the pregnancy of a widower's loneliness, and in the jealousy manifested by both spouses. Our evidence suggests this dependence to intensify with time. Among old people, where we find the closest bonds between spouses, strong dependence is expressed in attitudes of mutual care, protection, and worry. Mrs. Mike was reluctant to allow her husband to leave camp alone for any length of time. Old Mrs. Dennis busied herself as much preoccupied with his wife's health and symptoms as with his own. Marriage, therefore, represents a pattern of indulging passivity and must also be esteemed for its role in undermining goals of individualism and self-sufficiency.

Another instance of emotional dependence is found in the attitudes of parents concerning their future economic dependence on children, and only secondarily reflecting the latter's reliance on parents. Such unconsciously motivated attitudes not only do a great deal to sustain the emotionally satisfying symbiosis of the society, but in turn set up dependency motivated behavior in childhood, like food hoarding and the theft of small objects—"symbolic thefts of love."[1] We will return to these aspects of children's behavior in describing the development of Kaska ethos.

A study of the cultural background will reveal other situations whose emotional qualities suggest the operation of dependence. Several of these may be briefly pointed out, although the most we can do is to point to future problems for research. Thus one is tempted to trace the question of a relationship between drinking and passive receptive and needs. The fact that alcohol promotes passive reactions in these people cannot be doubted. Old Mike when asked how drinking quickly helped him forget his illness and debility, thinking, forsaking a situation of overtaxing self-assertion represents a means of withdrawing from the press of life. In his discussion of basic personality in western society, Kardiner points out that the nostalgic themes of contemporary music represent the sublimation of the passive motive.[2] A similar function may be suggested for the music which is most popular

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doing of the dimension of this role and in explaining "child" as shown for production provided the assistance with them and reliance for free distribution. To possess the government explains such traditional and psychologically grounded means of defining the child's status.

[1] Levy, Psychogenic Personality and Crime (1940), 100.

[2] Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society (1945), 280.

...using the Rorschach and which expresses yearning for a loved and familiar place. The shame-...
...central taboo key of Rorschach playing may also be pertinent in this connection. We see an...
...even certain ground in view even expressing the roles of shame, magic, and luck in relation...
...to dependence. Harry Lang's journal is liberally spotted with phrases like "lucky color," "poor luck color," and "no luck color." Conversation often seeks to account for failure in terms of luck. Although productive beliefs promoting success (like an used to forecast failure) reveal a certain degree of ego mastery, both as expressions of optimism and power-...
...esses, reliance on chance and divination or acceptance of luck denote an individual's rela-...
...tively passive adjustment to forces on which he feels himself contingent.

While religious attitudes do not directly reveal a person's orientation, to a great[illegible]
...may they encourage the feeling of being cared for in a system that perceive human life as[illegible]
...primarily passive. Man, like the animal and plant environments, is a part of nature, the...
...operation of whose laws make it possible for him to learn and cope successfully. Jesus is a...
...protective ship taken care of his "boys." The animal motifs has a similar role. Heaven is a...
...state of happy good to which the individual unreservedly feels destined. Such optimism,...
...or faith, is both related to ignorance and dependency expressions.

Expressions of the Rorschach are obscure. Criteria for interpreting dependency in the[illegible]
...Rorschach situation have not been well worked out in the literature. Beck and Molzon,[illegible]
...like Hertzman,[illegible] suggest that responses involving the mouth, food, eating and drinking may be regarded as signs of anxiety and therefore potential expressions of dependence. Such responses are not conspicuous in Kuba protocols.

Dependence is more still unclear. Although there is no evidence for doubting that pri-...
...mary dependency (that is, dependence manifested in the early years of life) is characteristic of both men and women, characterological differences between the sexes are nevertheless shown in the expression of this motivation. These may be suggested as follows:

Men — Dependency goals are usually discouraged in favor of aggression and self-...
...active considerations. The ego, however, lacks the required resource for con-...
...sistent assertive behavior, thus facilitating dependency expression.

Women — Dependency goals are usually permitted and even encouraged, but the...
...absence of sufficiently low ego development does not always leave women...
...content with a passive role. Others have often expressed overtly perceived ego-...
...esource and utilization shortcomings which overburden dependency needs.

Expressed in other terms, women, because of their social roles, and especially after marriage, are perceived as less luck than and expected to manifest more passivity. Men, conversely, are expected to display initiative. In men ego strength is not high enough to support the socially perceived male role in women, despite early training for a strong role. It is too high to make them content with their lot and to be overwhelmed from having families, engaging, burning log grass, and otherwise fulfilling roles assigned to men.

Actually this works out to provide a rather neat balance in interpersonal relations, but also produces many conflicts which we shall take up in the following section. In marriage

[illegible]
[illegible]

[END PLATE 40]

treatment by them was unknown. On the whole their children were docile and obedient. Mothers often sang to their young children (infants to about six years old) and composed songs to them. These songs expressed their love, pity, admiration and solicitude for them and some of them were full of poetry. Some mothers consider they honor their children in the eyes of others by composing songs to them, and exceptional mothers have composed dirges to each child. These songs were also sometimes used as lullabies to soothe and put children to sleep. The airs of these songs are sometimes taken by other people and used for other occasions, and their origin becomes lost.

The following are methods in connection with children. It was believed the souls or lives of infants were only slightly connected with their bodies and therefore care was exercised that the two did not become detached. When women were carrying their infants away from the camp or town ceremonial to call [illegible], "come on", to the baby's soul or spirit the moment they left the camp, and continued to do this for half mile or so they traveled. This was done to warn the child's soul wanted to stay in camp and would not go with the body. Also whenever she crossed water, the mother dropped small handfuls of brush in the water and called "come" to the child's spirit. This was done even if

some amount as others. All songs thus introduced were named after the person who introduced them and were called "so and so's song". Most lyric songs and many dance songs are known to have originated in the ways described. The themes of these songs were varied; some were of a serious, others of a comic nature. Some were love songs, and some described the doings and feelings of people and animals. It seems none of them were real seductive or obscene songs.

On account of other native dances were held as among the Indian tribes young people sang their sexless songs in turn.

Young men from the time of their attaining puberty until marriage lived in a lodge by themselves. These people lived in large lodges sometimes as many as twenty young men constituted the young men's lodge at one time. This lodge was of no special construction, being of the same shape and material as other lodges. All the young unmarried men of the district lived together in this lodge, three of the men sleeping on one side, three of the next on the other. They slept, ate, played games, sang and amused themselves. They went out from here singly and in groups to the countries for hunting of game, particularly. They got their own food and never ate at home in evening. They slept many times with other people and kept to themselves.

out of the house and reentered after the woman has entered. Otherwise the people would have bad luck.

DEATH, BURIAL and MORTUARY CUSTOMS.

When a person died the death was at once announced to the people, who assembled and immediately commenced to sing a death chant. Only middle-aged and old people joined in the singing of death chants. If young people sang, they were apt to die early in life. The song was sung in presence of the corpse and the latter was addressed in the song. It is said that sometimes when it seemed sure the person was dying the people assembled beforehand and sang the chant at the death bed. The chief and possibly the only object in singing the death chant was to assist the soul of the dead person to find the trail to the sunrise land, and therefore some thought the singing of the chant at the time of the death rather than afterwards, gave him all the more chance of easily finding the trail. It is said the beginning of the trail is obscure or hard to find and dead people are liable to have trouble in finding it and sometimes go on the wrong trail or get lost. It seems the change from the state of life to that of death is considered to be sudden and extreme and the soul (especially that of an elderly person) on its being parted from the body is more or less in a state of shock or partly stupified and therefore needs people's assistance.

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People always wished the souls of their friends to go to the sunrise land; by always directing them in that direction there was more chance of their going as they wished.

The singers strike the ground with short sticks as they sing and move very slowly forward. The words given in one of the old death chants (probably the oldest one) collected by me are as follows:

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"You are the same as a piece of a mountain,
you are a piece broken off the mountain,
pieces break off continually and will
continue to break off until there are
no more and all is flat. This mountain
thou art a piece of it, thou art the
same as a piece broken off. Pieces
will break off until all is flat.
But you will stand well herein.
(The corpse or soul is here addressed
by the name of his clan or phratry)
We are going to sing for you and we
will make it well for you. But thou
stand good, herein, thou art in a
good position. I'm going to make a
song for thee, I will sing good for
thee."

Then the singers lifted their sticks and

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pushed them out or pointed them to the East, at the same time singing "Tana's. This way is the trail. This way it goes. Don't miss it. The trail goes right to the east where the sun gets up". It is claimed there are four death chants in use. Two of these are said to be very old and the other two not quite so old.

It may be noted that although the Tahltan claim this song to have originated in the Tahltan country and the air to be purely Tahltan, still they say the words of the song are generally in the Tlingit language; sometimes however Tahltan words with the same meaning are used.

The corpse was laid out and wrapped in a skin blanket which was tied in place with ropes encircling the body. Some of the things belonging to the deceased which were to be burned with him were placed near the body.

The corpse was kept in the house for one or two days or occasionally longer. It was taken outside when the pyre was ready and soon afterwards burned. When the body was to be removed, the pole or poles (one or two) used for carrying were passed through the ropes binding the corpse. They were considerably longer than the latter, extending beyond the feet and head. Men held the ends of the pole in front and others the end at the back. A hole was made in the side of the lodge

person killing someone, such as an enemy, or undertaking a war expedition to appease their sorrow for the death of their relative.

Songs, it seems, chiefly mourning songs or death chants, were sung at the pyre, where the body was consumed slowly. In singing these songs the people swayed their bodies from side to side in peculiar actions.

The people who prepared the corpse, carried it, constructed the pyre and did all the work in connection with the corpse and its cremation were always of the opposite moiety of the deceased and all were elderly. Young people never did this work and seldom any below forty years of age.

No restrictions were put on these people to run out of eating and purification, etc. All they had to do was afterwards to wash their hands and faces. They /were/ not required to purge themselves by drinking medicine nor by putting twigs down their throats to induce vomiting. This latter custom was unknown or at least never followed by the Tetitan in any ceremonies, such as those connected with death, puberty, etc.

After the funeral fire had burned out, the charred bones of the deceased were collected and wrapped in skin. They were then placed on the top of a small crib of logs built up a few feet from the ground

'give' used.

The feast and paying ceremony generally lasted from two to four days, depending a good deal on the rank and prominence of the deceased and his family. The guests or members of the opposite phratry did most of the dancing and singing. In some of the songs they eulogized the deceased and his family. A special class of songs was used at these ceremonies. I have collected some of these songs. One of the songs belongs to the Tsiakotam clan of the Wolf phratry. The words used in it are "I have lost a good thing, my nephew". The singer in these words regrets the loss of his nephew who was a good one. The other two are <u>kiluda</u> songs. In one of them the words are "My uncle, have you gone for good (have you gone never to return)"? The reference is to the person's deceased uncle for whom he is paying. In the other, the words are "My uncle, you are the same as <u>kalimakwagu</u>" (an instrument used to rub over the flesh and onto the blood vess. Used in ceremonies by elders to make them healthy, strong, powerful etc.). The reference is that through the death of his uncle, for whom he is paying, he has been made strong (in property or rank etc.). Other words are "Perhaps I am not as strong as you are (or were) to which". When the guests heard these words in the song they suggested he could show his strength by making

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big payments etc. In the singing of these ceremonial songs, a second person assisting in the singing of the song repeats the words of the leading singer. Words were often used extempore in these songs. On the last day of the feast all outstanding debts of the deceased were paid and payments made to all members of the opposite phratry who had assisted in any way or done any service in connection with the funeral and cremation, etc., of the deceased. All obligations on account of the latter were now forever discharged.

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Upper Liard

the smooth snow of a frozen lake. Games, feasts, and potlatches involved larger scale social interaction.

The tambourine drum furnished the standard musical instrument. The best toned drumheads came from the raw skin of a young moose, caribou skin being inferior because it split too easily. The rawhide was spanned across one side of a circular wooden rim, babiche lines running from the edges of the skin to tie underneath the cover. These converging lines also made a useful handle to hold the instrument. The size of drums varied but a potlatch instrument sometimes attained three feet in diameter. To tighten the drumhead a player carefully heated it over a fire. Although the Upper Liard Indians made rattles for children, such instruments were not regarded as musical instruments. Whistles, carved from willow, also constituted toys.[9]

Repetitious, wordless chants that expressed feeling and amused or entertained listeners shared a place with true songs containing words. The repertory included potlatch songs, gambling songs for stick games, love songs to serenade a sweetheart, mourning songs, and magical war chants. A shaman sang his own song while curing, and so did a man working with a seance.

The Upper Liard Indians did not dance in a circle. Rather people ranged themselves in a row and, with the arms partly raised but not directly participating in the movement, rocked the body up and down while keeping time with the feet.[10] Potlatch dancers painted their faces grotesquely and costumed themselves in sharp and well skin, half-finished coats, absurd headgear, and sharp horns—all provoking considerable amusement for the spectators. Wolf's-head masks might be worn by members of that society.

The people liked to engage in contests of strength and skill, including throwing, arrow shooting, wrestling, and racing. Adults and children played with balls made from a mass of skin sewn into a tanned-skin container. Target shooting with a bow demanded a small stick thrust in the ground as a target. In one winter sport boys threw sticks in the snow trying to make them skip like flat stones thrown across the surface of water. Young men frequently competed to see who by using his hands alone could break the hind-quarter bone of a beaver. Occasionally a girl also joined the competition. The secret of breaking a beaver bone, according to an informant, lay in twisting it with great force rather than trying to break it in half. Riddles are said to have been told for amusement but none could be obtained.[11] Wrestling enjoyed wide popularity among young men but was specifically prohibited between two brothers-in-law. Young boys ran foot races on the snow of a frozen lake. Canoe races could not be recalled but an informant believed

[9] A Kaska informant knew the Tlingit to possess plank drums and to use rattles in dancing. According to Emsheimer, the Tlingit (including the Chilkat) used single-head membranous, suspended rattles, and plank drums. Emsheimer, *Uebers Ekstatik Zauberlehrlinge*, 8:8:91; *Northwest Coast* (1939), 107–108.

[10] Among the Tlingit "while dancing, the participants stand close together and scarcely move out of their tracks. . . . The dancing really consists of rhythmic movements of the hands, arms, head and entire body above the waist. . . . Time is measured by the beat of the drum. . . ." Men and women danced, painting the face with red or black pigments and also using masks. Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 188.

[11] "It is interesting to note the presence of riddles among the Tahltan, a feature that has not often been reported for North American Indian tribes." Teit, *The Tahltan* (Abridgement) Print (1919), 466.

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Dease River

into the fire. The recipient would cry out, "I win that!" A host gave presents with an eye to what he had already received, the more elaborate objects being presented to people who had given him good gifts in the past. A person who had given poorly received a relatively less valuable present.

When the gifts had all been allocated, a rawhide curtain was erected in the dwelling, supported from two poles held by members of the host's moiety. Members of the potlatcher's group retired behind the curtain and decorated themselves with masks, feathers, and animal skins for dancing.* Members of the opposite moiety painted the faces of like-moiety dancers. Costumes did not include ceremonial wigs or aprons. When they were ready the dancers called for the curtain to be removed and began dancing to the rhythm of drums and potlatch songs. After one moiety had performed the guests allowed their faces to be painted and in turn also danced. Crow dancers sometimes ran their hands upward along the faces of the Wolf people, brushing the latter's hair away from the face. Celebrations lasted as long as four days, large meals being served every evening. On the night people gambled far into the morning. Competitive grease-drinking contests were also featured at potlatches, winners receiving their rewards in arrows and other useful prizes. Besides marking puberty, marriage, and anniversaries of death, potlatches constituted a ritual means of reducing hostility between moieties. Thus if a member of the Crow side had killed a Wolf he might avoid the open resentment of the other moiety by assembling wealth and inviting members of the offended side to attend his potlatch. The exchange of ceremonial civilities between the two parties erased all memory of the offense.

Dease River Kaska. Averaging about 15 or 16 inches in diameter, the tambourine drum of semi-tanned moose hide furnished the chief musical instrument of the Kaiyagotenne. Only shamans decorated these objects with symbols representing the sky, moon, and stars. Along with the drum people provided rhythm with bells, made from hollowed caribou horn, or moose hooves clattered on a piece of fur from which they could be swung. For amusement youths made willow whistles in the spring. Apart from potlatch chants and songs for gambling, love, and mourning, people sang to secure good weather and favorable hunting and fishing. Shamans knew specific, and presumably lucky, moose, ground hog, caribou, and bear-set songs. All chants were generally wordless and in essence consisted of a few syllables repeated over and over in a minor key. The refrain of a potlatch song follows:

[illegible]

[illegible] to [illegible] or [illegible] from one's father. People did not sing war songs.

Dancing provided a popular source of amusement. Sometimes the sex of a headman led dancers in a circle while pounding a drum. During the potlatch people performed and observed while dressed with both moieties, the features of which were outlined with char-

* In the Tlingit potlatch animal masks and other costumes to represent the crest animals. Swanton, Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians (1908), 426.

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Dease River

coal. Other masks came from the head skins of black and grizzly bears, the goat, and sheep.

Potlatches were accompanied by games and sports, some of which included competitions between teams recruited from opposite moieties. Popular sports including racing, tugs-of-war, blind-man's bluff, wrestling, target shooting, throwing, and gambling. Races took place between men, the end of a course sometimes being marked by the prize that would become the property of the winner. Thus an arrow thrust into a tree would be pulled out by the first contestant to reach the objective. Two spruce bark traveling canoes also raced, each containing a team selected on moiety lines. The winning team claimed the rival vessel as their prize. Three or four men engaged in swimming races, often to see who could cross a river quickest. Tugs-of-war also occurred between moieties. Customarily some boiled meat piled on one side of the playing ground constituted the prize of the winning side. The Kaska, one concludes, did not enjoy sport for its own sake but preferred to compete for some tangible reward. Men and women engaged in tugs-of-war, the sport being played with lines as well as with poles. Poles in turn were both pushed and pulled. Blind-man's-bluff found favor with children and adults. In this game one of the contestants had his eyes bound with caribou hide. Moving with outstretched arms toward the seated rank of the other party, users he sought to grasp somebody's coat or arm. In a variety of this game a blindfolded individual sought to secure a marten skin hung in a tree. Success earned him the right to keep the prize. Wrestling matches endured for several hours, for as one contestant was overcome another stepped from the circle of onlookers to challenge the victor. Each defeated challenger paid the victor in marmosets, a bow, or an arrow. Wrestling for women was denied [171] her the latecomers, in typical fashion, remarked having heard of the practice among the Tagish and "Blackwater River Indians." Shooting with bow and arrows for a mark, as a test or reward some other target rarely involved a prize. Strike were also flung across snow (snow snakes?) to see how far one could hit. Skin tossing and dog-skin games could not be recalled. People keenly relished gambling in the form of the stick game. Teams consisted of from five to ten men each. Instead of playing with the hands under a robe the contestants held their arms behind the back while they shuffled the painted wooden sticks. Two drummers accompanied the players and simultaneously chanted "hit, hit, hit, hit." Should drums be unavailable the players themselves chanted in a moderately fast, double rhythm, six-eighth time: "hit-hit, hit-hit, hit-hit, hit-hit."

Through fears the Indians withdrawal a youth's first successful hunt for large game, a girl's return from her initial menstrual seclusion, and a youth's completion of his dream quest. Sometimes the feasts became potlatches. No mortuary feast took place but a "remembrance" potlatch occurred about one year after death. Potlatches appeared between moieties and followed a period of gift solicitation. Objects given to a potlatch constituted outright gifts for the festival from which, in turn, all the givers derived prestige. The contributors received gifts when the opposite moiety repaid the potlatch. Only rich men provided a potlatch, their power fathers being unable to accumulate sufficient food or objects for such an undertaking. Chanting and masked dancing enlivened the give-away but nobody reached the use of communal orgy.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
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a man employed euphemisms and circumlocutions. "I'm going to stay with you," made his intentions quite clear as did, "I want you, sister-in-law." Only a girl who enjoyed no respect in her community solicited coitus. Lovers sometimes agreed to meet in specific places. As is so common in North America, a girl walking alone away from camp always provided a fair target for sexual advances provided she did not come under an incest rule. At night a boy might creep close to a camp containing an unmarried girl. He slipped his hand under the sleeping robes striving to reach her body and genitals. If she pressed his hand the boy slipped under the blankets. On the other hand, if she screamed out he might be caught and punished. Another way of winning a girl's favors was to sing love songs from a short distance beyond the camp. Girls often wept a little when they heard the rather mournful cadences of these tunes. An example of a love song in free translation follows:

[illegible]	My sweetheart is lonely
[illegible]	Sweetheart, I am lonely today

To which a girl might answer:

[illegible]	How sad, little brother

Most girls hung back shyly from physical intimacy; hence even a willing partner had first to be sought and "forced" into submission. When such a girl struggled in the arms of her lover the boy protested "I'm not going to leave you alone. I'm going to fight you." This was calculated to make her surrender, perhaps by crossing how little resistance would avail. The struggle in which a girl's ambivalence toward sex relations was overcome did not constitute rape in the eyes of the people. Sometimes it happened that a girl truly resisted a boy's advances. "When a girl does not want a man she hits the man." To subdue such a girl the rapist punched her leg above knee way above the knee thereby relaxing the thighs sufficiently to force them apart. Rape occurred rarely and was the resort of men who could not obtain the favors of a girl in any way. Strong women also could throw down a man, confront him, and by sitting astride his thighs force intromission. Such behavior was described as rather pleasant for the victim.

Ideally a girl of 17 engaged in sexual relations with a boy of her choice as a prelude to marriage. Any tendency toward promiscuity was immediately stopped and premarital girls were known. Boys also received advice to limit their attentions to one girl. One gains the impression that corrective measures seldom applied to youths who manifested wantonly tendencies. A boy usually entered upon his sexual career without warnings from any more experienced person. Sometimes a girl, knowing that an unmarried boy desired coitus, kept what him until he submitted to [illegible]

[illegible] existence of the hymen remained unknown, the pain of first intercourse being associated with the girl's temperament. Although most girls commenced sex relations at about 17, a girl rarely bore a child until about two years later. In the words of the informant, "Many people could get away with it for two years."

As already indicated males took the initiative in sex relations. Sometimes the couple pretended the act out by lying together, the man talking to his partner, caressing her